

Status and Social Groups in Early Modern Korea

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This paper will consider social groups that provided spaces for people in early modern Korean society to live their lives and at the same time also bound them through the two settings of local area and blood ties (lineage *リネージ*). The reasons for centering status are that people of this period carried statuses which were determined by birth (natural) and that were differentiated legally and socially (hierarchical), and that their positions in society were determined by their status.

Here, “early modern” (J. *kinsei* 近世) will in the main refer to the period that is called the late Chosŏn period 朝鮮後期. This period in Korean history in general extends from Toyotomi Hideyoshi’s 豊臣秀吉 invasions from 1592 to 1598 and the two Manchu invasions in 1627 and 1636, to the “opening” of Chosŏn through the Treaty of Kanghwa in 1876, though for the sake of the argument to be presented the periods prior to the invasions and after 1876 also will be discussed. The term “early modern,” one not widely accepted yet in the study of Korean history, is used because this era deeply influenced the formation of characteristics of modern Korean society.

I. The Structure of Status in Early Modern Korea

In the standard interpretation, status in early modern Korea has been divided into the four statuses of *yangban* 兩班, *chungin* 中人, *sangmin* 常民, and *ch’ŏnmin* 賤民, and has generally been understood as follows.¹⁾ First, *yangban*, as the source of government officials, was positioned in the ruling class status. *Chungin*, composed primarily of the descendants of illegitimate sons of *yangban*, were middle-level and lower-level technical officials who had passed the miscellaneous examinations (K. *chapkwa* 雜科). *Sangmin* engaged in such production activities as farming and the sale of goods and handicrafts. *Ch’ŏnmin*, or people of base status, belonged to *yangban* as *nobi* 奴婢, or slaves.

However, evidence of the existence of this four-status system cannot

be found in early modern Korean sources. Viewed through the legal system, the early modern Korean status system is the good status-base status system (K. *yangch'ŏn-sei* 兩賤制) instituted in the *Kyŏngguk taejŏn* 『經國大典』 (Great Code of Administration), which became the fundamental law code in 1485. In the next year, 1486, in debating which people were to be designated for military service (K. *pyŏngyŏk* 兵役), the Board of Military Affairs (K. *Pyŏngjo* 兵曹) asserted, “There are but two distinctions for people in our country: people are of base status if they are not of good status.”²⁾ The Board of Military Affairs denied the existence of any other status. According to the *Kyŏngguk taejŏn*, the differences between the two statuses of good and base were, first, whether one possessed the qualifications to sit for state examinations and, second, whether one bore the duty to perform labor for the state or the burden, for adult males of good status, to bear the military service tax (*yangyŏk* 良役), one which allowed the payment of cloth as a substitute for labor. The issue being raised directly here was the right to participate in the political arena known as the Chosŏn government. The law distinguishing between the good and the base continued across the *Sok taejŏn* 『續大典』 (Great Code, Continued, 1744), the *Taejŏn t'ongp'yŏn* 『大典通編』 (Comprehensive Great Code, 1785), and the *Taejŏn hoet'ong* 『大典會通』 (Updated Great Code, 1865) law codes, and it did not change until the introduction of modern law in the late nineteenth century, although there were such modifications as the establishment of military units composed of slaves (*sogogun* 束伍軍).

Although the Korean state made the good-base status system the legal foundation, the structure of status in society was rather more complicated. Yi I 李珣 (Yulgok 栗谷; 1536–1584) expressed the status hierarchy in terms of the order in which people of all statuses lined up at their area's *hyanghoe* 鄉會 meeting, a sub-county meeting sponsored by that county's *hyangan* 鄉案, or local *yangban* organization. That is, according to Yi, there were the six statuses of: *sajok* 士族; *sŏin* 庶人 that hold government office (men who hold a ranked government office but who are not *sajok*); *sŏŏl* 庶孽 (illegitimate sons of *sajok*); *hyangni* 鄉吏, or petty clerks of hereditary status who served under the county magistrate; *sŏin* that do not hold government office; and official slaves and private slaves.³⁾

An Chŏng-bok's 安鼎福 (1712–1791) *Imgwan chŏngyo* 『臨官政要』, which was a representative text on governance that explained administration to local officials, listed in hierarchical order: *sajok*; *p'umgwan* 品官, or men who had received an official rank but did not hold a ranked gov-

ernment post; *chungsŏ* 中庶; *sŏin* holding government office; *yangmin* 良民, or people of good status who were not *yangban* or slaves; and *kongsa ch'ŏn* 公私賤, or official slaves and private slaves. An Chŏng-bok also mentioned a seventh status, which included artisans, merchants, monks and nuns, *hwasa* 化士, entertainers (*ch'angu* 倡優), shamans, and beggars (*kŏlsik* 乞食). Men in this seventh status could not participate in *hyanghoe* meetings.

In still another list of statuses, Chŏng Yag-yong 丁若鏞 (1762–1836) identified six statuses through conditions in Kangjin County 康津縣, Chŏlla Province 全羅道, where, after having been swept up in a power struggle at court, he lived in banishment in the late eighteenth century and the early nineteenth century. These six statuses were *sa* 士, or men from families of government officials; *hyang* 鄉, or *hyangsŭng* 鄉丞 (*hyangni*) families; *yang* 良, or people who were considered base (*pi* 卑) but were not *ch'ŏn* 賤, or slaves; *chung* 中, or men who were *yangin* 良人, or of good status, and were studying (K. *yuhak* 幼學); *sano* 私奴, or private slaves used at private homes; and *yŏksok* 驛屬, or post station attendants.⁴⁾ According to Hwang Hyŏn 黃玪 (1855–1910), in the capital of Hansŏng 漢城 in the second half of the nineteenth century were three statuses, *sadaebu* 士大夫, *chungin*, and *sanghan* 常漢. Men of *sadaebu* status worked as government officials; men of *chungin* status worked as doctors, interpreters, and as other technical specialists; and men of *sanghan* status worked as merchants and servants, for example.⁵⁾

The dates of the Yi I, An Chŏng-bok, and Chŏng Yag-yong texts and the geographical areas that they treat vary, but it has been confirmed that early modern Koreans recognized status differently than as through the four-status classification. There are slight differences in the names for status groups and in the order of the statuses. However, for all three writers the highest status is not “*yangban*,” but rather “*sajok* (*sa* and *sadaebu*).” Further, another common point is that men who were not *sajok* and held ranked government office were placed highest even among *sŏin*.

On the other hand, it is also true that the term “*yangban*” existed in early modern society. For Yu Su-wŏn 柳壽垣 (1694–1755), “*yangban*” was the ruling class itself.⁶⁾ Filling the gap between *yangban* and *sajok* is Pak Chi-wŏn’s 朴趾源 (1737–1805) explanation in *Yangban chŏn* 『兩班傳』 (Tale of the *Yangban*), “*Yangban* is a respectful term for *sajok*.”⁷⁾ Pak Chi-wŏn was saying that for people in the late eighteenth century “*yangban*” was a word (infused with respect) for *sajok* that people of lower statuses used. In *hyangyak* 鄉約, or community compacts, which *sajok* composed in

their local areas, and in other texts, these men referred to themselves as “*sajok*,” “*saryu*” [士類], “*sa*,” and “*sadaebu*,” but they seem to have rarely called themselves “*yangban*.” Stated broadly, we might say that *yangban* and *sajok* is the difference between a reference to another and a reference to oneself.

The word “*yangban*” was introduced to Koryŏ 高麗 together with institutions from Song 宋 China when, in the tenth century, the Koryŏ government was constructing its bureaucratic system, and meant the two columns of civil officials (east) and military officials (west) in ceremonies conducted at court. The word’s meaning changed later, and came to indicate government officials. From the mid-Chosŏn period, however, because those who could actually become government officials were limited to the descendants of *sajok*, “*yangban*” became the “common term” (K. *sokch’ing* 俗稱) for *sajok*.⁸⁾

To be a *sajok* one had to be a successful candidate for the classics licentiate examination (K. *saengwŏn-kwa* 生員科) or the literary licentiate examination (K. *chinsa-kwa* 進士科) and the descendant of someone who also had passed either of these examinations. Or it was necessary for one man among the four paternal and maternal ancestors (K. *sajo* 四祖), that is, the father, grandfather, great-grandfather, and maternal grandfather, to have attained a civil or military office of the fifth grade or higher.⁹⁾ In the government’s official understanding, the *sajok* was the lineage of a *sadaebu*. An official who held a government office of the fifth grade or lower was called a *sa*, and one who held a government office of the fourth grade or higher was called a *taebu* 大夫.¹⁰⁾ *Sadaebu* too originally meant a government official, but this term became *sa*“*jok*,” and came to mean a lineage that produced one or more government officials. In the late eighteenth century, the distinction between *sa* and *taebu* changed, becoming, “If one reads books, one is a *sa*. If one is involved in governing the country, one is a *taebu*.”¹¹⁾ As in the criticism, “Today’s so-called *sajok* uses the government post of a relative five or six degrees of genealogical distance removed from his father and passes himself off in society as a *sabu* 士夫,”¹²⁾ society had become such that if there was a close relative somewhere who holds a government post, the family would be recognized as a real *sajok*. In this way, the *sajok* established itself as a lineage that produced government officials, reproduced itself generation after generation, and grew larger in size.

Conceptualizing status in Korean early modern society based upon this discussion above, status had a structure similar to the following.

First, all residents can be divided into *yangmin* and *ch'ŏnmin*. Second, *yangmin* can be divided into *sajok* and not-*sajok* based upon whether or not there was a connection to a ranked government post. Further, *sŏl*, or illegitimate sons born of a *sajok*'s secondary wife (*sŏch'ulcha* 庶出子), composed a status and class called "*sŏjok*" 「庶族」 and were distinguished from the son(s) of the principal wife (*chŏk ch'ulcha* 嫡出子). Within the local area's hierarchy, illegitimate sons were placed below the *sajok*. Third, among the *yangmin* who were not-*sajok* were *hyangni* and *sanghan*, *sŏin*, and *yang*. They were important bearers of the duty to perform state labor (*yŏk* 役). *Hyangni* performed administrative duties at local government offices; for *sanghan*, military service was their principal burden. Fourth, depending upon the characteristics of the *sangjŏn* 上典, or the owner (J. *shoyūsha* 所有者), *ch'ŏnmin* can be divided into *kongch'ŏn* 公賤 (*kong nobi* 公奴婢), or official slaves, that worked in government offices and *sach'ŏn* 私賤 (*sa nobi* 私奴婢), or private slaves, that were owned by individuals. In both cases, for the owner, the slave was property. Despite the term *ch'ŏnmin*, there may not have been a perception of slaves as lower-class (*hisen-kan* 卑賤觀), and even if there was such a perception, it seems to have been extremely weak. Slaves could attend *hyanghoe* meetings with *sajok*, as noted above, and they even could be appointed, together with people of good status (*yangmin*), as *pyŏlgŏm* 別檢, or staff working in the *hyangyak kye* 鄉約契, or the community compact group, which was a countywide organization that promoted ethical behavior.¹³⁾ Those who were considered as lower-class were the artisans, merchants, monks and nuns, *hwasa*, entertainers, shamans, beggars, and others that An Chŏng-bok listed last in his *Imgwan chŏngyo*. The social situation of these people is almost completely unknown at this time.

II. Status and "Service"

Shikata Hiroshi's 四方博 series of studies in the 1930s of household registers (K. *hojŏk* 戶籍) opened the door to the study of early modern society through status.¹⁴⁾ He showed through statistical analyses of household registers that *yangban* had increased dramatically in number and *ch'ŏnmin* had decreased significantly from the late seventeenth century into the nineteenth century, and drew a historical image that showed early modern Korea as a period of dynamic fluctuation in status. Shikata found in the growth of an intermediate class composed of *sanghan* of higher distinction and others the distinctive character of the social transi-

tion from the early modern period to the modern period in Korea. The analytical concept that he used was the four statuses that had become the established explanation. When considering the fissure between the established explanation and the social reality seen above, Shikata's research cannot be avoided.

The status system concept in studies of household registers has been broadly divided into five types which present from three to seven statuses.¹⁵⁾ All five types use Shikata's methodology for separating status as the foundation, and many of the results from the analyses, too, have affirmed and reconfirmed his conclusions. Of course, scholars also have presented their own views, but those stopped at minor recalibrations and did not pose fundamental questions about or revise Shikata's conclusions.

In analyzing household registers Shikata adopted the four status theory that already had become the established explanation. But with the exception of the word "slave" (K. *nobi*) (*ch'ŏnmin*), he could not find the words "*yangban*," "*chungin*," and "*sangmin*" in the household registers. "*Chigyŏk*" 職役, a term that expressed a state duty imposed primarily upon adult males, became the key for analyzing status. The services that Shikata found recorded in the household registers totaled 178 even when ignoring the variants in the terms that appear in the registers. He attempted to assign each of those 178 services to one of the four statuses. For example, he assigned "*yuhak*" 「幼學」 to the *yangban* status. Although Shikata called this an analysis of status, in actuality he was conducting an analysis of service. Analyzing service rather than analyzing status was followed by later researchers, too. Researching status through household registers was difficult because one had to decide to which of the four statuses to assign the enormous number of services. From the beginning, the four statuses and the services did not match perfectly, and in this project there was a considerable degree of forcing of data into categories. Researchers have therefore created categories such as quasi-*yangban* or *yangban* A, *yangban* B, and others, and have tried to somehow match a service to a status. The research has reached a point where, it need not be stated, analysis is completely separated from status and even from service.

Shikata took the large number of appearances of "*yuhak*" as a service in household registers as evidence for the sudden increase in *yangban*. *Yuhak* originally indicated students preparing for the higher civil service examination at the Royal Confucian Academy (K. *Sŏnggyunghwan* 成均館), which was the highest institute of learning for Confucian studies in

Chosŏn. The meaning changed later, the word becoming an honorary term for a *sajok* who did not hold a ranked government office. Because the recipient gained exemption from the military service tax for men of good status, when given this qualification, the large number of appearances of *yuhak* in the household registers meant for the government a large decrease in the adult males that bore the military service tax. Shikata understood these *yuhak* as *yangban*.

In contrast to Shikata, Ch'oe Sŭng-hŭi 崔承熙 considers many of the examples of *yuhak* to be false titles and asserts that these men were not originally *yangban*.¹⁶⁾ Song Chun-ho 宋俊浩, who researched the actual conditions of *yangban*, argued the invariability of genealogical continuity and the social consciousness of *yangban*. He also criticized Shikata's theory that the term *yuhak* indicated a sudden increase in *yangban* as an impractical theory composed at a desk from household registers.¹⁷⁾

Certainly, from the eighteenth century there occurred *yuhak* inflation through the widespread appearance of false *yuhak* bearing a "moch'ing" 「冒稱」¹⁸⁾ or a "kach'ing" 「假稱」,¹⁹⁾ or an assumed title, and this inflation even became a political issue. To evade what was felt to be the heavy burden of the military service tax, *kyebangch'on* 契房村, or entire villages, worked together with petty clerks (K. *isŏ* 吏胥) (*hyangni*) to be removed from official account books, or they reduced the various labor burdens by paying county offices. Also, names were removed from household registers. For *sanghan*, a faster method was acquisition of the *yuhak* title. In the narrow confines of local society where people knew each other's position, however, it was an extremely difficult trick for a false *yuhak* to gain recognition as a *yangban*. If officials were to examine the household registers preserved at county offices or speak with relatives, the ruse would become apparent immediately.²⁰⁾

The theory of status change asserted through the sudden increase in *yuhak* has significant problems. Yet it is also true that the sudden increase in "*yangban*" throughout Chosŏn in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries had become an issue. Having a service that Shikata assigned to *yangban* more so than anything else meant first the privilege of exemption from the military service tax.²¹⁾ In Sangju County 尙州牧, Kyŏngsang Province 慶尙道, in 1887 the number of "*panho*" 「班戶」, or *yangban* households, had increased over just seven years from 4,800 households to 6,800 households. In contrast, the number of *sangho* 常戶, or *sanghan* households, had decreased from 8,700 households to 6,000 households.²²⁾ People of that time understood this phenomenon as the sudden

increase in “*yangban*.” What became a problem was the sudden decrease in the *sanghan* households, or the households that bore military service burdens.

Service originally meant administrative (*kwan* 官) service based upon a government post and rank, and physical (*sin* 身) labor levied upon adult males of good status. The household register itself was produced as a basic document for capturing the circumstances of local residents and understanding the various state burdens, beginning with the military service tax, borne by local residents. Accordingly, for the government, status relationships in local society were not a principal issue of concern, and it was not entirely necessary to reflect those status relationships in household register entries. That which directly concerned household registers was grasping who were the people of good status and securing the performance of the military service tax that they bore. Status becomes a problem to that extent. The confirmation and securing of adult males to fulfill the military service tax was at the same time also the confirmation of the adult males that were exempt from the military service tax. The *sajok* and *hyangp’um* 鄉品, or local clerks; *Ch’ungsunwi* 忠順衛, or the Loyal and Obedient Guards; *Ch’ungüwi* 忠義衛, or the Loyal and Righteous Guards; *kungwan* 軍官, or military officers; *kyosaeng* 校生, or students in provincial schools; *wönsaeng* 院生, or students at *söwön* 書院 academies; *kwalli* 官吏 (*hyangni*), or petty clerks; *yöksok* (*yöngni* 驛吏), or post station attendants; *kongsa ch’ön*, or official slaves and private slaves; *yugijang* 柳器匠 (*yanagisaiku shokunin* 柳細工職人), or artisans; *p’och’ök* 鮑尺 (*ömin* 漁民), or fishers; and *p’yejilin* 廢疾人, or disabled men and ill men, were designated as exempt from the military service tax.²³⁾ Thus, if one could receive such recognition in the household register, one could evade the military service burden.

It was difficult to become a *sajok*, and if becoming a *ch’önmin* could not be permitted for reasons of personal dignity,²⁴⁾ there were no other statuses one could become but those between *sajok* and *ch’önmin*. Some men purchased office rank through grain contributions (K. *napsok* 納粟), and other men used procedural techniques and the good offices of others to acquire the *yuhak* title, which would be recognized by a local clerk (K. *p’umgwan*) (*hyangp’um*). In this way “false *yuhak*” 「冒稱幼學」 and others about whom it might be said, “Although one is not a *sajok*, one is called a *yangban*,” were born in large numbers.²⁵⁾ From the second half of the eighteenth century *sajok* and local clerks (K. *hyangp’um*) came to both be called *yangban*.²⁶⁾ This inflation in the number of local clerks was the

actual situation of the increase in *yangban*.

Shikata, in establishing his status category, adopted the explanation of Tanaka Tokutarō 田中徳太郎, who was an interpreter for the Government-General of Chōsen 朝鮮總督府譯官. Tanaka posited, “In addition to the royal family (J. *ōshitsu* 王室) and the legally prescribed relatives of the kings (J. *ōzoku* 王族) (*chongch'in* 宗親), there were the various classes of *yangban*, *hyangban* 鄉班 (or local *yangban*), *chungin*, *sōl*, *sangin* 常人, and *ch'ōnmin*.”²⁷⁾ Published in 1912, or earlier than Tanaka’s article, was this explanation in *Chōsen shakai kō* 『朝鮮社會考』, edited by the Chōsen Military Police Headquarters (J. *Chōsen Chūsatsu Kenpeitai Shireibu* 朝鮮駐劄憲兵隊司令部): “Royalty (J. *ōzoku*), *yangban* (*kizoku* 貴族), *chungin*, *sangmin*, *dorei* 奴隸 (*nuhi* 奴婢).” This text, which is believed to have been based upon information “provided by the Chōsen Military Academy (J. *Chōsen Shōkō* 朝鮮將校), affiliated with the Chōsen Military Police Headquarters,” reflects Koreans’ views of status in the early years of the twentieth century. However, following this explanation came, “Because this was written with Keijō 京城 as the focus, the different customs and different practices in the countryside should not be overlooked.” Attention should be paid to this latter comment. Shikata’s comprehension of the status system, which was adopted although it displays no basis in historical sources, also was popular knowledge that spread among Japanese residing in Seoul.

Originally, the status framework that Shikata established was an analytical concept, and was not the actual situation in Korean society. Despite this, because “*yangban*” and other terms and the corresponding social reality existed from the early modern period into modern Korea, the analytical concept seems to have come to be understood as if it were the actual situation. In his recognition of status, by using service as the criterion there emerges the nuance of having no other choice because there were no other criteria available. When Shikata decided upon service as the criterion for recognizing status, he apparently used service because there were no other criteria. Even if service reflected status, his awareness that service was not status can be read in his publications.

Indicating that awareness concretely is Shikata’s graph of service-status correspondences, which he produced as the foundation for his study of household registers. This graph has the statuses of *yangban*, *sangmin*, and slave on the vertical axis and the services of *yuhak* and below on the horizontal axis. The numbers of individuals appear in the cells composed from status and service. Organizing data in this way, Shikata dis-

covered that there was a strong correlation between service and status. At the same time, the graph also indicates that people of the same status were dispersed among multiple services and that among people bearing the same service there were multiple statuses.

The household register produced for the Hansŏng Magistracy 漢城府 in 1663 records service and households, and divides the households into four groups through four signs. These four groups are *sajok* households (marked with the Chinese character “*hyŏn*” 「顯」, or “exalted”), *sanghan* households (marked with the Chinese character “*chak*” 「作」, or “cultivator”), official slave households (marked with the Chinese character “*an*” 「案」, or “rostered”), and private slave households (marked with the Chinese character “*ch’ŏn*,” or “base”). The reason for the division is because the social reality in which there was a discrepancy between status and service was understood as an assumption. Actually, in this Hansŏng household register too are a large number of examples in which different signs are affixed to the same service. It is clear that service and status did not correspond one-to-one.²⁸⁾ On this point there seem to be misunderstandings among many scholars. However, Shikata directly connected status and service when writing up the results of his analysis. The source of such a misunderstanding may be found in his explanation that service matched status.

III. Status and Population

The population of early modern Korea divided by status is unclear. If we follow Yi Sim-wŏn’s 李深源 statement in 1478, “Among people today, private slaves are eight or nine of every ten people, and people of good status are but one or two of every ten people,”²⁹⁾ then from 80% to 90% of adult males were private slaves (*sa nobi*) and people of good status were no more than 10% to 20% of the population at that time. This was a political comment made in the context of the managing of high-interest private loans by “private slaves of powerful elites” (K. *kwŏnmun sach’ŏn* 權門私賤), and these figures cannot be taken as accurate. However, every three years a regular country-wide census was undertaken, and government officials had information about the population derived from those surveys. Yi Sim-wŏn’s figures, even if they were exaggerated, should not be considered as groundless. In the first place, during his time the securing of adult males of good status for the military service tax had become an important political issue, and it can be accepted that people of base

status (*sach'ŏn*) were the overwhelming majority compared to adult males of good status. Chosŏn of the second half of the fifteenth century was a state that considered people of base status its principal members.

Shikata calculated the population by status of Taegu County 大丘府, Kyŏngsang Province, in 1690 as *yangban* 7.4%, *sangmin* 45.5%, *chunggan in-gu* 中間人口 2.4%, and slaves 44.6%. At this time, because false *yuhak* had not yet become an issue, it is probably acceptable to view “*yangban*” here as referring almost entirely to *sajok*. According to the present author’s calculations, in the case of Tansŏng County 丹城縣, a small county in the southern half of Kyŏngsang Province, considering *sajok* as people holding ranked government office and individuals linked through genealogical relationships, that is, blood ties, *sanghan* as people upon whom were levied the military service tax, and people of base status as people who were slaves, in 1678 the population divided by status was *sajok* 4.8%, *sanghan* 46.9%, and people of base status 48.2%. These figures are close to those for Taegu County in 1690. Though only the two examples of Taegu County and Tansŏng County in the late seventeenth century, the *sajok* population did not exceed 10% and the population of *sanghan* and of people of base status each was between 40% and 50%.

Two centuries had passed since Yi Sim-wŏn’s comment that “private slaves are eight or nine of every ten people,” and the conditions surrounding status had changed greatly. That change was the people of base status’ conversion into people of good status, a trend that continued even in the eighteenth century. In household registers from the second half of the eighteenth century, separating status by individuals becomes difficult because of the sudden increases in false *yuhak* and in the purchase of official titles, as well as in cases in which status and service was not recorded. Therefore, as a substitute for data on men and women, the statuses of male heads of household in Tansŏng County will be viewed here.

In 1786, 44.2% of the male heads of households were exempt from the service tax, 47.4% of the male heads of households were eligible for the military service tax, and 7.5% of the male heads of household were slaves. The status of 0.3% of the male heads of household was not clarified in the household register. Male heads of household holding the privilege of exemption from the service tax, which in the past only *sajok* received, had increased dramatically and male heads of household that were slaves were disappearing. This situation in Tansŏng County is the same as the phenomenon that Shikata found in Taegu County and described as “the remarkable increase in the *yangban* class.” Also, in the

case of male heads of household in Tansŏng County in 1678, 11.5% were *sajok*, 38.8% were *sanghan*, and 49.0% were people of base status. The status of 0.6% of the male heads of household was not clarified in the household register.

In Chosŏn, where in the second half of the fifteenth century a great majority of residents were people of base status and the government had become worried about confirming who was eligible for the military service tax, in the late seventeenth century one-half of the residents had become people of good status, and from the late eighteenth century base status as a status was disappearing. This is the social change of early modern Korea seen from the perspective of status. In Korean early modern society was the consistent trend of people of base status becoming people of good status.

IV. Status and Local Area

1. The “County” as a Local Area

The lowest level of area differentiation in early modern Korea was the “county” (K. *ūp* 邑), the administrative unit below the eight provinces. The local area’s politics, economy, and society were framed with the county as the unit. The county also was the basic unit for centralized administration and to which the government dispatched a magistrate (*suryŏng* 守令). Special characteristics of the county are as follows.

First, throughout the early modern period there were no significant fluctuations in the number of counties and in their respective sizes. There were 337 counties in the mid-fourteenth century,³⁰⁾ 333 in the late fifteenth century,³¹⁾ 335 in 1789,³²⁾ and 335 in the late nineteenth century.³³⁾ Although there were a small number of amalgamations of counties and of divisions of a county into counties, the number of counties, their locations, and their territory were for the most part fixed.

Second, each county was assigned a title, as Special Capital (K. *pu* 府), City or Island (K. *mok* 牧), Special City (K. *taedohobu* 大都護府), Town (K. *tohobu* 都護府), Great County (K. *kun* 郡), County (K. *hyŏn* 縣), or Small County (K. *hyŏn* 縣)³⁴⁾, and set in a hierarchy. Matching each county’s title, a county magistrate was dispatched as Special Capital Magistrate (K. *Puyun* 府尹, junior second grade), City Magistrate or Island Magistrate (K. *Moksa* 牧使, senior third grade), Special City Magistrate (K. *Taedohobusa* 大都護府使, senior third grade), Town

Magistrate (K. *Tohobusa* 都護府使, junior third grade), Great County Magistrate (K. *Kunsu* 郡守, junior fourth grade), County Magistrate (K. *Hyölyöng* 縣令, junior fifth grade), or Small County Magistrate (K. *Hyöngam* 縣監, junior sixth grade). The magistrate's grade indicated the state's ranking of the county. However, the counties were not arranged in a hierarchical formation such that a Great County was a subordinate structure of the Special Capital. Each county rather was set vis-à-vis other counties as a subordinate administrative unit below and within the province. This hierarchy was fixed as the Chosön government was being organized, and the elevation or the demotion of the county within the hierarchy stemmed from the meritorious acts or the crimes of county residents or related individuals toward the government, the state, or the royal family. The designations Special Capital and below were rankings for the counties.

Third, among the officials dispatched by the government to the "county," a deputy (K. *pugwan* 副官) (*p'angwan* 判官) was assigned to the Special Capital and the City or Island, but only a magistrate was assigned to the other counties.³⁵⁾ Actual administrative duties were performed by the local *yangban* association (K. *hyangch'öng* 鄉廳) (*sajok*) and the chief bureau staffed by petty clerks (K. *illich'öng* 人吏廳) (*hyangni*), both of which were composed of residents in that area.³⁶⁾

2. Status and the "County"

When seeing the "county" as a site of social bonding (J. *shakai ketsugō* 社會結合), the meaning of "county" differs depending upon status. *Sajok*, petty clerks, and official slaves considered social relationships within the "county" as the basis of their individual existence. However, that perception cannot be found among *sanghan* and private slaves.

The reason why *sajok* were *sajok* was in the continuity of the lineage, which was linked to official rank and government office. However, in many cases the effective geographic range of the lineage did not extend beyond the county. When a family moved to another county, being recognized again as a *sajok* was problematic.

Before and after Hideyoshi's invasions *sajok* who were of elite lineages (J. *monbatsu shizoku* 門閥士族) in each county compiled a "hyangan," or a register of local *yangban*, and exerted control over *sajok* who were not of elite lineages and people who were not *sajok*.³⁷⁾ It goes without saying that the father was from an elite *sajok* lineage; that background also was

demanded of the mother and of the wife. Problems such as the commingling of base people's blood removed the lineage from such recognition. In *T'aengni chi* 『擇里志』 (A Guide for Selecting Villages) it is written, "Among the *sadaebu* are great families (K. *taega* 大家, *myōngga* 名家). Their differences are extremely numerous, and they do not marry or interact together."³⁸⁾ In this world, marriage occurred between *sajok* of the same distinction. For *sajok*, the matching of hierarchy and distinction in the local area was indispensable knowledge for reproducing the political and social positions of themselves and their descendants as local elites. Differing from what Shikata vaguely understood, *sangin* were not suddenly accepted among *sajok* as peers simply because they had become *yuhak*. Though an extreme example, in Tamyang County 潭陽都護府, Chōlla Province, Song Sun 宋純 (1493–1583), who had risen to the high-ranking, junior second grade post of Inspector-General in the Office of the Inspector-General (K. *Sahōnbu Taesahōn* 司憲府大司憲), was denied inclusion in the Tamyang County local *yangban* register because his mother's family in the neighboring county of Namwōn 南原都護府 had not produced a famous official.³⁹⁾ In many counties, strict reviews were conducted when considering whether to enter a new name into the local *yangban* register, and until at least the seventeenth century, with the exception of succession from one's father, it was difficult to be newly recorded into a local *yangban* register.

For *sajok* men from elite lineages whose names were recorded in the "local *yangban* register," respect for the association's regulations, which are generally called "*hyanggyu*" 「鄉規」, was enforced as the duty of the *sajok*. In the event of a violation, the regulations provided for punishment that included long-term removal from the register. And in many counties, *sajok* used Zhu Xi's 朱子 *Lu-shi zengsun xiangyue* 『呂氏增損鄉約』 as a model in composing the county's "community compact" and imposed Neo-Confucian ethical values upon all county residents. The "community compact" set county residents into a hierarchy based upon the degree to which they practiced Neo-Confucian ethical values, and the "*sa*," the virtuous men that embodied Neo-Confucian ethical values, rationalized the exercise of control in the local area as its ruling elites. Like the *bushi* 武士 in Japan, this was not concrete, actual violence. For the *sajok*, who used abstract understandings of the relationship with the state through men holding government office and of the continuity of the lineage as proof of their ruling power, the practice of Neo-Confucian ethics was an essential activity for distinguishing themselves, who were expected to be

men of virtue, from non-*sajok*. The “regulations” and the “community compact” were available as devices to support this distinction from non-*sajok*.

Pak Chiwŏn’s *Yangban chŏn* tells the story (perhaps a true story) of a *sangin* who becomes a “*yangban*.” In Chŏngsŏn County 旌善郡, Kangwŏn Province 江原道, was a “*yangban*” whose repayment of rice loans from the county office was in arrears. This “*yangban*” offered his “*sajok*” title to a wealthy man (whose status is unclear) on the condition that the wealthy man will repay his debt to the county office. The county magistrate conducted the ceremony at which this wealthy man would become a *yangban* at the county office. In addition to making the petty clerk write a testimony, the county magistrate also made the petty clerk read aloud the standards of behavior that a *yangban* was expected to respect.

The standards of behavior began with statements that scholars and officials concentrate on their studies, become virtuous subjects of the king, rise early, always fix their eyes on the tip of the nose and do not move them, do not squat, do not grow excited even when in discussion, do not complain of cold or poverty, study the ancient classics, and do not tap their teeth with their fingers. The standards continued with statements that scholars and officials do not raise their voice, stroll leisurely when walking, make manuscript copies of the *Guwen zhenbao* 『古文眞寶』 and the *Tang shi* 『唐史』, do not touch money, do not know the price of rice, do not show skin even when it is hot, do not make noise when eating, and do not poke with their chopsticks. There were more than forty such entries in the statement read aloud by the petty clerk. The wealthy man was shocked and yelled out, “Stop, stop.” For the rest of his life the wealthy man paid no attention to *yangban*.

This story is customarily interpreted as a sarcastic depiction of the foolishness of *yangban*. Indeed, the strict conditions for being a *yangban* would be sufficient to scare away a wealthy man. However, all *sajok* were not bound by the conditions that were demanded in the *Yangban chŏn*. Rather, conditions were moving in the exact opposite direction. Even in Andong County 安東大都護府, Kyŏngsang Province, which all recognized as the home of the *sajok*, they were in an extremely lamentable condition. “There is not even one book stored in the house of a *sadaebu*,” and, “There is only man among one hundred who reads the Confucian texts and the histories.”⁴⁰⁾ With the social growth of non-*sajok* in the background, concern about whether they could preserve their authority through only the logic of lineage spread among *sajok*. The conditions for

being a *yangban* expressed in the *Yangban chŏn*, which were based upon the need to distinguish *sajok* from non-*sajok*, is little more than a list of features that can be thought to have been generally associated with *sajok*. These were not the actual conditions for being a *yangban* but rather were “the expected appearance,” and there is no reason for a *sajok* not to have been recognized as a *sajok* if he did not actually personify all of these conditions.

As mentioned above, *sŏŏl*, who were sons born to the secondary wife or the secondary wives of a *sajok*, and their descendants were excluded from the *sajok*, and comprised a status called *sŏjok*. Their eligibility to sit for the civil service examinations was restricted⁴¹⁾, and even if they became government officials, limits on their promotion had been codified.⁴²⁾ *Sŏjok* residing in Hansŏng applied endlessly to sit for the miscellaneous examinations and sought to become government officials at middle-level and lower-level positions as translators, doctors, astronomers, and other technical specialists. These government offices were held by *sajok* and even *yangmin* in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, but because sons and brothers of *sŏjok* began concentrating in these government offices, the technical positions became the monopoly of *sŏjok*, and subsequently a status called *chungin* appeared. The displeasure of *sŏjok* was relieved to some extent in the eighteenth century, but they continued to be discriminated against by *sajok*.⁴³⁾

Petty clerks originated in the Koryŏ period, and many were related genealogically to *sajok*. In the Koryŏ period, many *hyangni* became central government officials, and they also were a source of *yangban*. However, amid the political and social changes from the late Koryŏ period into the early Chosŏn period, the *sajok* and the *hyangni* were separated and governing authority in the counties came to be held by the former. With the founding of the Chosŏn government in 1392, *hyangni* who were of *tanghagwan* 堂下官 ranks, or from the junior third grade to the junior fifth grade, and thus were not permitted in audience with the king, were expelled from the central government.⁴⁴⁾ Further, in 1430, eligibility to sit for the civil service examinations also was taken away.⁴⁵⁾ Their status fell to and became fixed as officials responsible for administration in the counties.

In general, petty clerks married with other families of the same status, and in this way were reproduced.⁴⁶⁾ Because they worked in chief bureaus called *illich'ŏng*, *sŏngch'ŏng* 星廳, and other names that were constructed in front of the county office where the magistrate worked, the

petty clerk also was called *ajŏn* 衙前. In the chief bureau, the *hojang* 戶長, or chief officer, was the head and below him were the Six Chambers of Personnel 吏房, Taxation 戶房, Rites 禮房, Military Affairs 兵房, Punishment 刑房, and Works 工房. The petty clerks were in charge of the county's day-to-day administrative duties. For local residents, the petty clerks, who, as subordinates of the county magistrate, scurried around collecting taxes and completing other tasks, are said to have been targets of resentment. But the petty clerks, as residents of the same local area, also were a buffer between the state and local residents.⁴⁷⁾ And among petty clerks, all were not uniform. Among elite petty clerk lineages, hierarchical ordering occurred through the compilation of petty clerk registers called "*tanan*" [檀案], which resembled the *sajok*'s local *yangban* registers, and other means.⁴⁸⁾ Similar to the *sajok*, marriages of petty clerks also seem to have been between families of the same class. In principle, petty clerks were appointed to duties in a rotation system, but offices within the chief bureaus where the earnings were good were monopolized by members of elite petty clerk lineages, and those lineages became targets of resentment for lesser petty clerk lineages.

Those whose actual conditions are least clear are the *sanghan*. For them, the local area could not, it seems, become a site of social bonding. What should be noted in the *sanghan*'s relationship with the local area is probably the shallowness of their attachment, or, stated differently, the frequency of their relocation. Even in the Tansŏng County household registers, in the case of *sanghan* households, during a three-year period, which was the regular interval for conducting the survey, from 20% to 30% of the *sanghan* heads of household relocated. Even if disappearance from the household registers, false statements to survey officials, and other factors are taken into account, this mobility is extremely high. For *sanghan*, the local area could not, it seems, become the base of their being.

The features of social bonding for official slaves varied depending upon the government office which owned them. Official slaves held by central government offices were divided into those who lived generation after generation at the government office, having inherited particular duties, and those who labored there in alternation, having been summoned from the countryside. The latter generally paid cloth as a substitute for labor, and their actual living conditions in the local area did not differ from those of *sanghan*. In contrast, official slaves who were held by local government offices composed "*nobi an*" [奴婢案], or official slave registers, in each county. Making the government office the base of their daily

lives, official slaves seem to have produced various relationships within the same status through that government office.

The great majority of private slaves were owned by *sajok*. Among them were two types, private slaves who lived in the same household as their owner (K. *solgō nobi* 率居奴婢) and outside-resident private slaves (K. *oegō nobi* 外居奴婢) who constructed their own independent households. Private slaves of the former type were forced to move at the whim of their owners from household to household within the family that owned them, and upon being sold could not but relocate. Their social bonding can be thought to have been formed through the owner, but the actual conditions are not clear. When they constructed their own households and became outside-resident private slaves, they seem to have become no different from *sanghan*.

The wall between *sanghan* and slaves could be easily scaled. Expressing that clearly is marriage between slaves and people of the good status class. For example, in Tansōng County, in the late seventeenth century marriage between these two statuses reached 18.1% of marriages recorded in the household register, and increased to 42.1% of marriages recorded in the household register in the late eighteenth century.⁴⁹⁾

In village society, slaves and *sanghan* seem not to have been mutually exclusive. *Sanghan* should perhaps be understood as an intermediate status between people of base status and *hyangp'um* in the process of advancing in status from base status to *sanghan* to *hyangp'um*. In Korean early modern society there is no reason that *sanghan* and people of base status (*nobi*) must be separated in terms of social bonding.

V. Status and Lineage

Status was inherited through blood ties, or lineage. The concept of lineage in Korean early modern society may be broadly divided into two categories according to status. The first category is the lineage through the paternal line that was established centering on *sajok* and that gradually expanded to include even *sanghan*. In household registers the father's line can be confirmed for three generations and the mother's line for two generations, and if followed in the "*chokpo*" 「族譜」, or genealogy, the paternal line can be traced tens of generations back to the founder. Further, the lineage extends from the local area throughout the country. The lineage combined the surname with the *pongwan* 本貫, or choronym, that is,

the area of origin of the paternal line's founder, examples being Kimhae Kim 金海金 and Andong Kwön 安東權. And the lineage exhibited the special characteristic of exogamy, which considers marriage between its members to be taboo.

The second category is the blood ties of official slaves and private slaves. Paternal lineages did not exist among slaves, and the mother was emphasized. In household registers, normally only one generation each of the paternal and maternal lines was recorded, and there are many instances in which the father was not recorded. From the nineteenth century slaves too were incorporated into lineage relationships, and today all South Koreans belong to a lineage.⁵⁰⁾

The relationship between lineage and individuals will be seen through the Andong Kwön in Tansöng County. The Andong Kwön gained merit during the transition in the tenth century from Silla 新羅 to Koryö as supporters of Wang Kõn 王建, who was the first king of Koryö. This lineage, which boasts of the Andong-area elite Kwön Haeng 權幸 as its founder, received from Wang Kõn the highest title of Unification Enshrined Three-fold Great Supporter (K. *Samhan Pyöksang Samjung Taegwang* 三韓壁上三重大匡) and the surname Kwön.

In the mid-sixteenth century, Kwön Si-jun 權時準 and Kwön Si-dök 權時得, of the lineage's twentieth generation, apparently settled in Tansöng County. In Tansöng, the Andong Kwön, as a local great family (J. *meimon* 名門), one that was a sub-lineage of an elite *sajok* lineage and produced many members whose names were recorded in the local *yangban* register, held great power in county politics. According to the fourteen extant Tansöng County household registers from 1606 to 1789, which are preserved in the Tansöng County provincial school (K. *hyanggyo* 鄉校), Andong Kwön households numbered nine in 1606 and thirty-eight in 1678, had increased to sixty-three in 1717, and totaled 151 in 1786. This sub-lineage had set its roots in Tansöng County and was steadily expanding its power there. Reflecting its position as a local great family, among the total of 301 names recorded in the *Tansöng hyangan* 『丹城鄉案』, which covers the period from 1621 to 1707 and is stored in the Tansöng County provincial school's repository for the local *yangban* registers, sixty-eight names are from the Andong Kwön. This figure is the highest among the fifteen lineages whose members appear in the register.

In Tansöng County actually are two Andong Kwöns. These will be referred to here as Andong Kwön A and Andong Kwön B. Andong Kwön A is a *sajok* that is linked genealogically to Kwön Haeng and that

can be confirmed as a distinct lineage. Andong Kwŏn B's relationship with Andong Kwŏn A cannot be confirmed through household registers or through genealogies. In 1606, the nine households all were of Andong Kwŏn A, but in 1678, while there were thirty Andong Kwŏn A households there appear eight Andong Kwŏn B households. Andong Kwŏn B, as far as can be seen in the genealogical relationships recorded in the household register, did not constitute itself into a lineage. And in the Andong Kwŏn genealogy published in 1980, too, the existence of Andong Kwŏn B cannot be confirmed.⁵¹⁾ The head of household in each of the Andong Kwŏn B households bore the military service tax assessed on men of good status as Beacon Fire Soldiers (*Pongsugun* 烽燧軍), Royal Division Soldiers (*Ŏyŏnggun* 御營軍), support persons (*poin* 保人), and other services, or they were private slaves. Within the Andong Kwŏn in Tansŏng were two sub-lineages, the *sajok* sub-lineage and the *sangin* or private slave sub-lineage, but only the *sajok* sub-lineage had lineage bonding, and the *sangin* or private slave sub-lineage was excluded from that sub-lineage.

As in this example of the Andong Kwŏn, because people resided in the same area and had the same surname and *pongwan* did not mean that they were members of the same lineage. This point is rather removed from the understanding in present-day South Korea in which families with the same surname and the same *pongwan* are seen as belonging to the same lineage, and marriage within the same surname and the same *pongwan* is forbidden in civil law. However, even in recent years, although the Andong Kwŏn and the Andong Kim 安東金 are separate lineages, marriage between these two lineages has been taboo because it is thought that originally they were of the same lineage.

Further, in the Andong Kim lineage there are two sub-lineages, the Earlier Kim 先金 and the Later Kim 後金, due to their having different founders. Both Kims, as distinct lineages, have no restrictions on marriage with the other Kim. In the Kimhae Kim, too, which is the largest lineage in South Korea based upon number of members, as with the Andong Kim, there are two sub-lineages, and there is a consciousness, fostered in the past, which cannot be completely regulated solely because of having the same surname and the same *pongwan*.

Tansŏng County household registers from the late seventeenth century and the late eighteenth century will be examined again. Reflecting the lineage were the surname and the *pongwan*, which indicated the lineage group to which one belonged, and the four generations (father,

grandfather, great-grandfather, and maternal grandfather), which clarified genealogical relationships. Observing lineage through the head of household class offers the following.

In 1678, 52.4%, or just more than one-half, of the heads of household had a surname and a *pongwan*, but in 1786 a great majority, 94.3%, of the heads of household had a surname and a *pongwan*. However, this change was weighted by status. Most of the increase reflects the movement of people of base status. In 1678, among *sajok*, excluding the one instance in which the *pongwan* was not recorded, almost all of them, at 99.5%, and the great majority of *sanghan*, too, at 92%, had a surname and a *pongwan*. In contrast, the percentage of people of base status who were heads of household and who had a surname and a *pongwan* was remarkably low at 6.8%.

In 1786, adult males exempted from service, a group comprised of *sajok*, was almost unchanged at 99.6% and *sanghan* totaled 98.6%, and the few remaining cases were of individuals that had acquired a surname and a *pongwan*. In contrast to these figures, people of base status who had a surname and a *pongwan* totaled 43.6%, which indicates an increase of 6.5 times. However, that percentage of people of base status with a surname and a *pongwan* does not reach one person in two. This means that *sajok* acquired a surname and a *pongwan* prior to the seventeenth century, *sanghan* in the seventeenth century, and people of base status in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Generation depth 世代深度 refers to the number of generations recorded from among the four generations in household registers. The highest generation depth is 3.0. The average generation depth for heads of household was 2.21 in 1678 and 2.93 in 1786. In the late seventeenth century, the great-grandfather was not recorded in 53.1% of cases, a figure that exceeded one-half. In contrast, in the late eighteenth century, generation depth was almost 3.0; almost all heads of household were traced back to the great-grandfather. That is, during the one century from the late seventeenth century to the late eighteenth century, a deepening of almost one generation can be seen for all statuses in Tansŏng County. But as with the possession of a surname and a *pongwan*, too, significant imbalance can be seen among statuses. In 1678, if the single example of a father and the single example of a grandfather not having been recorded in the household register are excluded, *sajok* had already reached a generation depth of almost 3.0. *Sanghan* too had already reached a generation depth of 2.7, or quite close to 3.0, in 1678. In 1786,

that figure for *sanghan* was 2.91; setting aside the small number of exceptions, the recording of the four generations of ancestors had been achieved. In contrast, in 1678, at 1.6, slightly more than one-half of the people of base status can be known up to and including the grandfather. In 1786, generation depth had deepened by one generation to 2.7, with 85% of the entries recording up to and including the great-grandfather.

Examining together changes in the recording of the surname and the *pongwan* and of the four generations of ancestors, the percentages of *sajok* and men exempted from service, of *sanghan*, and of people of base status increased in that order. What should be considered here is the movement in the composition of these three statuses. In 1678, *sajok* in the household register totaled 11.5%, *sanghan* 39.1%, and people of base status 49.4%. In 1768, these figures had changed to 44.3% for adult males exempted from service, 48.1% for adult males required to bear the military service tax, and 7.6% for people of base status. As in Taegu, when viewed only from heads of household there occurred in Tansŏng, too, from the seventeenth century to the eighteenth century the conversion of people of base status into people of good status and the conversion of people of good status into “*yangban*” (actually, adult males exempted from service). However, the entry of these people into lineages was not recognized. That path would open only from the nineteenth century.⁵²⁾

Originally, lineage bonding was the exclusive possession of the *sajok*, but, first *sanghan* and then people of base status tried to enter into that system. For the *sanghan* who had early on become of good status by climbing in status from private slave, both status and local area could not become the core of social bonding. For the people of base status, who achieved social bonding through their owners (*shoyūsha*), becoming of good status was also an uneasy departure in which they might lose the support for their social being. The lineage, which took blood relationships as its foundation, also became a base supporting such people.

Conclusion

From the fifteenth century to the nineteenth century, in Chosŏn the conversion of people of base status into people of good status consistently progressed. In the second half of the fifteenth century, people of base status were not a minority. They were a great majority of the population. By the seventeenth century, almost one-half of them had become people of good status, and by the late eighteenth century a large portion of the

remaining people of base status also had converted into people of good status and become *sanghan*. *Sanghan* of higher distinction had become *hyangp'um* or *yangban* through the acquisition of the *yuhak* title or through the purchase of a ranked government office, and were intending to enter the world of the *sajok*. However, the *sajok*, seeking to realize the logic of lineage, excluded *hyangp'um*, trying to not include *hyangp'um* in their networks. *Sanghan* and people of base status first acquired a surname and a *pongwan* and then continued their endeavors to enter the lineages of *sajok*. Social changes in this direction are continuing to progress.

Notes

- 1) Han U-gŭn 韓祐勳, *Hanguk t'ongsa* 韓國通史 (History of Korea), trans. Hiraki Makoto 平木實, Gakuseisha 學生社, 1976; Chōsenshi Kenkyūkai 朝鮮史研究會 ed., *Shinpan Chōsen no rekishi* 新版 朝鮮の歴史 (History of Korea, new edition), Tokyo: Sanseidō 三省堂, 1995; Yi Sōng-mu 李成茂, *Chosōn ch'ogi yangban yōngu* 朝鮮初期兩班研究 (Studies in the Early Chosōn Period *Yangban*), Seoul: Ilchogak 一潮閣, 1980.
- 2) *Sōngjong sillok* 成宗實錄 (Veritable Records of King Sōngjong) 189:24a-b [Sōngjong 成宗 17 (1486).3.23 mujin 戊辰].
- 3) Yi I 李珣, *Yulgok chōnsō*, vol. 16 栗谷全書 (The Complete Works of Yi I) 第一六, Chapchō 3 雜著三, “Sōwōn hyangyak” 西原鄉約.
- 4) Chōng Yag-yong 丁若鏞, *Mongmin simsō* 牧民心書 (Essays from the Heart on Governing the People), Hojōn 戶典, “Hojōk” 戶籍條.
- 5) Hwang Hyōn 黃珪, *Maech'ōn yarak*, vol. 1 sang 梅泉野錄 (Unofficial Observations by Hwang Hyōn) 卷一上.
- 6) Yu Su-wōn 柳壽垣, *Usō*, vol. 2 迂書 (Writings of Yu Su-wōn) 卷二, “Non munbōl chi p'ye” 論門閥之弊.
- 7) Pak Chi-wōn 朴趾源, *Yangban chōn* 兩班傳 (Tale of the *Yangban*), in *Yōnam chip*, vol. 8 燕巖集 (Collected Writings of Pak Chi-wōn) 卷八, “Chōn” 傳.
- 8) *Sūngjōngwōn ilgi* 承政院日記 (Records of the Royal Secretariat), (Seoul: Kuksa P'yōnch'an Wiwōnhoe 國史編纂委員會, 1961–1977), 575:242–243 [Yōngjo enthronement 英祖即位年 (1724).10.3]; Yu Hyōng-wōn 柳馨遠, *Pangye surok* 磻溪隨錄 (Jottings of Yu Hyōng-wōn), “Kyosōn chi che,” sang 教選之制上, “Hyangyak samok” 鄉約事目.
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